What PEKING Keeps Silent About

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О ЧЕМ УМАЛЧИВАЮТ В ПЕКИНЕ
на англійском языке
Цена 7 коп.

Introduction

More than ten years have passed since Mao Tse-tung and his group openly embarked upon their "special course" aimed at undermining the world communist, working class and national liberation movement. Chauvinism and a desire to achieve hegemony have become the guidelines of this group both in their activity at home and in the international arena.

The domestic and foreign policy of the Maoist group is imbued with a desire to revise the Marxist-Leninist principles of socialist construction. It is worth noting that in the first decade after the founding of the People's Republic of China the Communist Party of China followed the Marxist-Leninist teachings, whose basic principles were reflected in the decisions of its 8th Congress (1956).

The question arises: what is Maoism from the point of view of ideology and theory?

The political, economic, philosophical and sociological views and the tactical approach of Mao Tse-tung and his followers reflect the influence and are in fact an eclectic mixture of various doctrines, theories and concepts including feudal Chinese philosophy (mostly Confucianism and Taoism), petty-bourgeois socialism, petty-bourgeois and peasant views, bourgeois-nationalist views, great-power chauvinism, Trotskyite and anarchistic ideas.

It was through the prism of these views that Mao

Tse-tung perceived some ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The world outlook of Mao Tse-tung has never been completely and consistently Marxist-Leninist; this can be seen from the excerpts taken from various speeches and articles by Mao, cited in the present collection. These excerpts show that Mao's departure from the mainstream of proletarian ideology is not accidental, but is the logical outcome of the evolution of a "bourgeois intellectual" who for "some unknown reason was thrown into the revolution."

Adventuristic in politics, contradictory to the extreme both in slogans and actions – these are most characteristic features of the activities of Mao Tse-tung and his group. Right before our eyes the Maoists have made an about-face by renouncing the political slogans they themselves advanced several years ago. On a number of questions they continue to give lip service to some of these slogans which are in crying contradiction with their practices.

For example, in the field of foreign policy, after issuing ultra-leftist appeals for the unification of all forces in the struggle against imperialism ("a spearhead must be used against a spearhead." etc.), after exacerbating international tensions by every conceivable means and trying to precipitate a world nuclear conflict, even if that should mean that "half the population of the world will be destroyed," the Maoist group has lately begun to don the togas of the supporters of the policy of peaceful co-existence.

Only a few years ago the Peking leaders denied all possibility of holding talks and arriving at an agreement with the United States, always using the most vituperative language in reference to that country. Now, while shouting about "the death throes of American imperialism" they have at the same time adopted a directly opposite political line. They are

mending fences with the United States while taking an increasingly anti-Soviet and anti-socialist line in their foreign policy.

On the home policy front the Maoists had only recently fanned the flames of the "cultural revolution," advanced the slogan "power comes from the barrel of a gun" and emphasized the leading role of the army in the conditions of the People's Republic of China. In this way, as is known, the Maoist group secured for itself the leading position in the country by establishing a regime of military and bureaucratic dictatorship. Now they are trying another tack. After yet another reshuffle in the Party top leadership in which the army have been relegated to the background and the military personnel has been subjected to purges and reprisals, the Chinese propaganda machine is now putting forward the slogan "the Party commands the rifle." This means that Mao Tse-tung is making a new attempt to do away with his political opponents.

The Maoists are equally contradictory in their economic policy.

Trampling underfoot the fundamental laws of socialism the Maoists once advanced the absurd, nonsensical slogan: "Three years of work, ten thousand years of happiness." The Chinese people were driven into such reckless ventures in the sphere of production and social life as "the big leap," and "the people's communes" which held back the country's development by more than ten years. The Maoists have lately been compelled to return to economically sound methods of management such as planning, the loss-and-profit method, material incentive, etc. Thus, a mere comparison of what the Maoists are saying and doing now and what they said and did only a short time ago shows the utter contradiction between their words and deeds. It is quite clear

now that Maoism is not a consistent ideological and political concept but an eclectic mixture of slogans which the Maoists have used to serve their political ends of the moment. The present leadership of the Communist Party of China is skilfully manipulating these slogans.

The Chinese people have to pay a dear price for the zigzags of Mao Tse-tung's policy. The Maoist group, far from fulfilling their promise of "ten thousand years of happiness," has drawn the country into the abyss of anarchy of production, domestic chaos and foreign-policy gambles.

The "cultural revolution" which was once proclaimed "the highest point of Maoism in theory and practice" was, as even the Peking press has admitted, a "political upheaval"; it barely conceals a desire to camouflage the failures of the adventuristic domestic and foreign policy of the Mao Tse-tung group. As a result of this "revolution," the Communist Party of China, the trade unions, youth organizations and societies of artists and writers were all but destroyed, many government institutions were liquidated, all "objectors" were silenced, and a military-bureaucratic regime was set up.

The aim of the 9th CPC Congress held in 1969 was to put an end to the policy proclaimed by the 8th Congress and to legalize the military-bureaucratic order.

However, the renunciation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism did not bring Mao Tse-tung and his supporters the results they had expected. History shows that distortion of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, slurring of the theory and practice of socialism which have been tested in the work and struggle of millions of people for the triumph of the most progressive social organization of society, will

inevitably lead to anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, to unscrupulous flirtation with imperialism.

Maoism poses a grave danger to the nations of the world. When Mao Tse-tung said that imperialism could be destroyed at the price of the death of half the population of the world, his words sounded sinister. Now the Maoists are camouflaging their designs with talk about the principles of peaceful co-existence. However, in the words and deeds of the Maoists these principles have taken the shape of political adventurism which may have dire consequences.

More and more people in China and in other countries are beginning to realize what Maoism means, to see its pseudo-revolutionariness which in practice amounts to a betrayal of the cause of socialism and the national liberation movement. The events on the Indian subcontinent and in Indochina are proof of this.

The present collection contains excerpts from articles and speeches by Mao Tse-tung written or delivered at different periods. This documentary material shows that the Mao Tse-tung group has gone a long way from its former positions. In the face of objective facts and contrary to the needs of social development of China, this group has rejected the friendship and co-operation sincerely offered to the peoples of China by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The inevitability and necessity of close fraternal co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union were recognized by the peoples and communists of China. Even Mao Tse-tung himself at one time dared not deny this.

At present Mao Tse-tung and his supporters prefer not to remember their own words about the role of the Soviet Union in the struggle of the Chinese

people for their liberation from colonialism and against imperialism, about the fraternal aid of the countries of the world socialist system which was a decisive factor in the restoration and development of China's national economy.

They are trying to expunge from the memory of the people of China and other countries their earlier statements to the effect that China has no future except as part of the world socialist community, as a participant in the uncompromising struggle against imperialism, as a follower of the principles of proletarian internationalism. The following words by Mao may serve as an exposure of the present policy of the Maoists:

"...The imperialists are determined to fight the USSR, to fight the communists. If you side with them they will tell you: 'Go and fight up North.' and then nothing will be left of your revolution.

"...Now the situation is crystal clear: if it is not to be a policy of alliance with Russia, if it is not to be an alliance with the socialist states, then surely it is a policy of alliance with the imperialists, surely an alliance with imperialism."

I.

The October Revolution and China

The October revolution built a new front of revolutions, extending from the proletarians in the West, through the Russian revolution, to the oppressed peoples in the East, against world imperialism.

From the article *Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!* (November, 1948).

After the October revolution the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat discovered Marxism-Leninism and created the Communist Party of China.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

The October revolution helped progressive people of the whole world, including those in China, to reconsider their problems and to apply the proletarian world outlook as an instrument for studying the destiny of their country.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

The October revolution opened broad possibilities and real ways for the cause of liberation of the peoples of the whole world. . .

From the article *Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!* (November, 1948).

After the October socialist revolution the Soviet government was the first to annul the unequal treaties with regard to China, which existed in the times of tsarist Russia.

The Soviet people and the Soviet government have repeatedly rendered assistance to the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. This fraternal friendship of the Soviet people and the Soviet government which the Chinese people were honoured to have in their days of severe trials will never be forgotten.

From a speech made on arrival in Moscow on December 16, 1949.

The united world revolutionary front led by the Soviet Union triumphed over fascist Germany, Italy and Japan. This is a result of the October revolution.

From the article *Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!* (November, 1948).

The people's revolution won in 1949, more than thirty years after the October revolution in the Soviet Union. We have nothing to be proud of on this score.

From the report *About Ten Most Important Interrelations* (April 25, 1956).

We are illumined by the light of the October revolution... The revolutionary struggle in China, which had always been isolated, ceased to be isolated after the victory of the October revolution.

From the article *Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!* (November, 1948).

II.
On the Experience of the CPSU

The Soviet Union is the first socialist country; the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a party created by Lenin.

From Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee (January 30, 1962).

It was more than one hundred years after Marxism was born, and only after the Russian Bolsheviks had set an example, having directed the October revolution and socialist construction and having defeated the fascist aggression, that revolutionary parties of a new type began to appear and develop throughout the world. The image of the world revolution altered after the appearance of such revolutionary parties. So immense were these changes that they led to astounding and turbulent transformations such as could not even be imagined by people of the older generation.

From the article *Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!* (November, 1948).

Under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the great Soviet people opened to the proletariat of the whole world the glorious path

of socialist revolution and showed to the whole of mankind the great example of building socialism and communism.

From a speech made in Peking on April 15, 1957.

The Chinese have discovered Marxism thanks to the Russians.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

Following the example of the Soviet Union where the universal truth of Marxism was combined with concrete revolutionary practice and Marxism was developed on this basis, we shall understand how we should work here in China.

From the report *Let Us Reorganize Our Training* (May, 1941).

Through creative application of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the solution of practical tasks the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ensured the continuous victories of the Soviet people in building a new life. A remarkable example is the programme of struggle for building communism in the USSR advanced by the 20th CPSU Congress.

From the speech at the jubilee session of the USSR Supreme Soviet (November 6, 1957).

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is our best teacher, and we must learn from it.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

III.
Socialist Construction in the USSR, and China

The policy of learning from the experience of the Soviet Union will never be changed, for the Soviet Union is the first socialist state.

From *Speech and Remarks at a Session of Section Leaders of an Enlarged Meeting of the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee* (June 23, 1958).

I definitely state that we must learn from the Soviet Union, for the Soviet Union is the first socialist state. We have learned and we shall continue to learn from the Soviet Union.

From *Speech and Remarks at a Session of Section Leaders of an Enlarged Meeting of the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee* (June 23, 1958).

Always – now and in future – our generation and our descendants should learn from the Soviet Union and study Soviet experience. Not to learn from the Soviet Union is to make a mistake.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee* (January 30, 1962).

In his life Sun Yat-sen repeatedly turned to capitalist countries for help, but to no avail; what is more,

he sustained merciless blows. In all of his life Sun Yat-sen received international help only once, and this help came from the Soviet Union.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

...With the Soviet Union in existence many things can be successfully accomplished; the thing to do is to follow the trodden path, and everything will be all right.

From a remark at a conference in Chengtu (March, 1958).

The Soviet Union is the bulwark of world peace, a powerful factor preventing the establishment of the world domination of American reaction. The existence of the Soviet Union renders unfeasible the claims of American and world reaction. That is why the American reactionaries are filled with blind hatred for the Soviet Union and dream of destroying this socialist state.

From *Talk with Anna Louise Strong* (August, 1946).

...The Soviet Union with its unprecedented might is always with China, both in her joy and sorrow. Unlike all capitalist states where the upper crust of society is after profit only, the Soviet Union deems it its duty to help all weak and small nations, to support all revolutionary wars.

...The geographic proximity of China to the Soviet Union... is favourable for China.

From the article *On Protracted War* (May, 1938).

All imperialists in the world are our enemies. If China wants to be independent, it cannot succeed

without the aid of a socialist state and international proletariat. This means that it cannot do without the aid of the USSR. . .

From the article *About New Democracy* (January, 1940).

We have before us the path traversed by the Soviet Union. When starting to build industrial enterprises we can learn from the Soviet Union, we can follow the trodden path.

From *Speech at the 2nd Session of the CPC 8th Congress* (May 17, 1958).

What kind of state is the Soviet Union? It is a socialist state. . . From a comparatively backward country the Soviet Union has grown into one of the world's advanced states. Were it not for the Soviet Union, the imperialists could have swallowed us.

From *Speech at the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow* (November 14, 1957).

From the rich experience of (other) countries we can choose an example to follow, but the experience of the Soviet Union is the most suitable for us compared to that of other countries.

From *Speech at the Closing Session of the 3rd Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee of the 8th Convocation* (October 9, 1957).

The Soviet Union's experience in economic and cultural construction and construction in other vital fields will serve as an example in building a new China.

From the speech on departure from Moscow on February 17, 1950.

The Soviet Union is a country that has built socialism. In future the whole world will follow the example of the Soviet Union. There is no doubt about that.

From the speech *Direction of the Youth Movement* (May 4, 1939).

Besides the capitalist world there is another, bright world: it is the land of socialism, the Soviet Union.

From *Talk with a "Hsinhua jihpao" Correspondent on the Current International Situation* (September 1, 1939).

We take as examples precedents in the history of the Soviet Union. All anti-Soviet sallies made over a period of several decades have led to nothing good. The most rabid anti-Sovietists had not hesitated to launch armed attacks against the Soviet Union.

From the article *On the Question of Anti Chinese Campaigns* (March, 1960).

An anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has already taken shape. The socialist Soviet Union, free from crises, developing along an upward curve and enjoying the love and support of broad popular masses the world over, is already more powerful than the imperialist United States of America which is confronted with the grave danger of a crisis, which is moving along a downward curve towards decline and is opposed by broad popular masses all over the world.

From the report *The Current Situation and Our Tasks* (December 25, 1947).

In the war with the Soviet Union all Hitler's strategic designs without exception fell through. . . The Soviet Union, on the contrary, is going from strength to strength.

From the article *The Turning Point in the Second World War* (October, 1942).

By studying hard the advanced experience and the latest technological achievements of the Soviet Union the Chinese people will eventually be able to build a powerful heavy industry of their own. This will be of exceptional importance for China's industrialization, for the gradual transition of China to socialism, and also for strengthening the forces of the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. . .

From a telegram to the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers (September 15, 1953).

IV.
"Can't We Steer a Middle Course?..."

In terms of our international position, we are in the ranks of the anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union, and we can expect truly friendly assistance only from this side – not from the side of the imperialist front.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

Since a head is needed, who is to stand at the head? If not the Soviet Union, then who? Consult the alphabet? Albania?... Or some other state? Our China cannot be at the head because she has not the requisites for this.

From *Speech at the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow* (November 14, 1957).

The most important tasks at present are consolidation of the world peace front headed by the Soviet Union, struggle against the instigators of war, strengthening good-neighbourly relations between the two great powers – China and the Soviet Union, and promotion of friendship between the Chinese and Soviet peoples.

From a speech made on arrival in Moscow on December 16, 1949.

In the international arena–to unite with those nations of the world who treat us as equals, and with all the peoples, and to conduct joint struggle. This means: having united with the Soviet Union and with the countries of people's democracy, and with the proletariat and broad popular masses of other countries, to form a single international front.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

...All the revolutionary forces in every country must unite; the revolutionary forces of all countries must unite; they must form a single anti-imperialist front with the Soviet Union at the head and follow a correct policy – otherwise victory is unattainable.

From the article *Revolutionary Forces of the Whole World, Unite for the Struggle Against Imperialist Aggression!* (November, 1948).

...In our time international assistance is vital to any country, any people waging a revolutionary struggle.

From the report *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism* (December 27, 1935).

The socialist camp is a creation not only of the peoples of the socialist countries but also of the world proletariat and all working people. It is necessary really to implement such militant slogans as "Workers of All Lands, Unite!" and "Proletarians and Oppressed Peoples of the World, Unite!", to fight resolutely against the anti-communist, anti-popular and counter-revolutionary policy pursued by the imperialists and reactionaries of different countries, and to render assistance and support to the

revolutionary struggle of the oppressed classes and the oppressed peoples of the world.

From the article *Historic Lessons of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (July, 1964).

The Soviet Union's interests will never clash with the interests of China's national liberation; on the contrary, they will always coincide. In my opinion this is beyond any doubt.

From the article *Identity of Interests of the Soviet Union and All Mankind* (September, 1939).

In foreign policy, the principle of proletarian internationalism should be firmly adhered to and great-power chauvinism and national egoism should be fought.

From the article *Historic Lessons of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (July, 1964).

To reject the Soviet Union's assistance means to doom the revolution to defeat. Have not the lessons of the anti-Soviet campaign. . . made this perfectly clear?

From the article *About New Democracy* (January, 1940).

. . .Internationalism should also be considered, and it should be considered in conjunction with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, with international solidarity, and with the world working class.

From the article *Materialist Dialectics* (1957-59).

The socialist camp is born of the struggle waged by the international proletariat and working people.

From the article *Historic Lessons of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (July, 1964).

We must always uphold the principles of proletarian international solidarity; we have always held that the socialist countries and the world communist movement will be firmly united on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee* (January 30, 1962).

Our unity is not a unity based on the racial principle; it is an alliance of like-minded people, an alliance of friends. We must strengthen this alliance, and take joint action against imperialism, feudalism and their lackeys. . .

From *Speech at a Reception for African Friends* (August 8, 1963).

Abroad, the strength and unity of all countries belonging to the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union are increasing from day to day; from day to day develops the national liberation movement and the revolutionary struggle of the peoples in the capitalist world, from day to day the difficulties grow and the contradictions sharpen between all the imperialist countries.

From the speech *In Defence of the Party's General Line, for Struggle Against Rightist Opportunism* (August 16, 1959).

. . .We must, by bringing into play all active factors – both direct and indirect, work to build a great socialist state, work to further strengthen and consolidate the socialist camp, work to achieve victory for the world communist movement!

From the report *About Ten Most Important Interrelations* (April 25, 1956).

In the sphere of international relations, we should be friends with the Soviet Union, with all people's democracies, with the communist parties and the working class of different countries; we should advocate internationalism and learn what is positive from the Soviet Union and other countries.

From *Speech at the Chengtu Conference* (March 10, 1958).

. . .Now the situation is crystal clear: if it is not to be a policy of alliance with Russia, if it is not to be an alliance with the socialist states, then surely it is a policy of alliance with the imperialists, surely an alliance with imperialism. . . As soon as the struggle between the socialist Soviet Union and imperialism becomes more acute, China will have to side either with one or the other. This is inevitable. But can't we steer a middle course? No, because this is an illusion. The entire world will be involved in the struggle either on the side of one or of the other camp; henceforth "neutrality" is a term that will only serve to deceive people. . .

. . .The imperialists are determined to fight the USSR, to fight the communists. If you side with them they will tell you: "Go and fight up North," and then nothing will be left of your revolution.

From the article *About New Democracy* (January, 1940).

V.
"The USA Still Presents the Main Threat..."

Everywhere in the world US imperialism is building up tension with the purpose of committing aggression against all the peoples and of enslaving them... If America's monopolistic clique persists with its policy of aggression and war there will inevitably come a day when the peoples of the world will give it a death sentence and carry it out. America's accomplices will be dealt with in the same manner.

From *Speech at a Session of the Supreme State Conference* (September 8, 1958).

Stationed around the socialist camp are US military bases spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

From the article *Notes on the Textbook "Political Economy"* (1960).

...US imperialism and its flunkeys in different countries... have formed a reactionary camp and have begun fighting against the Soviet Union...

From the report *The Current Situation and Our Tasks* (December 25, 1947).

...In Britain and the United States the imperialists are still at the helm. And would they render assist-

ance to a people's state? If these countries trade with us, and even, let's say, agree to loan money to us on mutually advantageous terms, what then is the explanation? The explanation would be that the capitalists of these countries need to make a profit, and the bankers need interest in order to find a way out of the crisis; this would not be any kind of assistance to the Chinese people.

From the article *On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People* (June, 1949).

The so-called proponents of peace. . . are manufacturing an unending stream of fake reports, speeches, documents,. . . they even talk about "the Soviet Union's secret aggressive plans against China," and so on and so forth. All this is being done in order to conceal the real state of affairs, to try to influence public opinion. . .

From the article *Against Capitulationism* (June, 1939).

Like a volcano, the irreconcilable internal and external contradictions constitute a daily threat to US imperialism which is sitting on this volcano. Such a situation compelled the US imperialists to work out a plan of world conquest. Like wild beasts they roam about Europe, Asia and other parts of the world, rallying reactionary forces in different countries – the rubbish which the peoples rejected with contempt; they are knocking together an imperialist and anti-democratic camp, counterposing it to all the democratic forces led by the Soviet Union; and they are preparing war hoping some time in future, in the distant future, to start a third world war with the aim of defeating the democratic forces. This is a madman's plan.

From the report *The Current Situation and Our Tasks* (December 25, 1947).

The imperialists harbour no good intentions. The countries which suffered a defeat in the war are not dangerous; it's the USA which still presents the main threat.

From *The Closing Speech at a Meeting of the Secretaries of Provincial and City Committees of the Party* (January, 1957).

VI.
Who "Is Interested in a New World War..."?

Some say that the Soviet Union is interested in a new world war, that it is making no effort to preserve world peace... I do not accept such views, for over a long period of time the foreign policy conducted by the Soviet Union has been a consistent policy of peace that combines the interests of the USSR with those of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

From the article *Identity of Interests of the Soviet Union and All Mankind* (September, 1939).

The Soviet Union is a socialist state where political power belongs to the communist party. The Soviet Union's attitude to war can be seen in the two clear-cut principles: 1) A definite refusal to take part in unjust, predatory, imperialist wars... 2) Active support for just, non-predatory wars of liberation... This has been confirmed by the history of the USSR... and will be confirmed by succeeding events.

From the article *Identity of Interests of the Soviet Union and All Mankind* (September, 1939).

The proletariat and peoples the world over are coming out vigorously against an anti-Soviet, anti-communist war.

From the report *On Negotiations in Chungking* (October 17, 1945).

War and dictatorship are our forte.

From *An Interview with Representatives of Press and Publishing House Workers* (March 10, 1957).

Is it possible to estimate the toll of human lives in a future war? It may be a third of the 2,700-million world population, i.e. only 900 million. To my mind the figure is too small.

From *Speech at the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow* (November 14, 1957).

If one half of mankind is wiped out, there will remain the other half. Imperialism, however, will be completely eliminated and socialism will triumph the world over, and in another fifty-years' time or a century the world population will be restored even by more than half. . .

From *Speech at the Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow* (November, 1957).

VII.
"A Big Kingdom of the Petty Bourgeoisie..."

A big kingdom of the petty bourgeoisie – such is (our) objective reality. The working class comprises a mere 24 million people, one-half of whom are industrial workers and the other half are cadre workers. They make up one pole. On the other pole are the landlords, kulaks and bourgeoisie which constitute a rough 30 million. The 550 million people between these two poles constitute the petty bourgeoisie.

From *Speech in Yingentang Hall* (February 16, 1957).

The class struggle taking place in society will inevitably be reflected in our Party. It would be incredible if in such a large country as ours, where classes continue to exist, bourgeois ideology or feudal ideology or the ideology of the kulaks and well-to-do peasants did not find its reflection inside the Party.

From the article *Directives on Socialist Education in the Village and Other Issues* (May, 1963).

As for the struggle between the two ideologies – the bourgeois ideology and the ideology of the proletariat, between Marxism and non-Marxist doctrines,

as for the struggle between these two ideologies, i.e. the struggle in the sphere of forms of consciousness, there the state of affairs is somewhat worse. This accounts for the present confusion in the sphere of ideology.

From *Speech at a Conference of Cadre Communist Workers of Shantung Provincial Organizations* (February, 1957).

. . .The eradication of bourgeois ideology in the Chinese people will take time.

From *Speech at a Reception for a Government Delegation of the GDR* (January 27, 1959).

It would be utterly wrong to think that it is possible to commit wholesale arbitrary executions, for such practice could alienate the people from our Party and isolate it from the masses.

From the article *On Certain Major Questions Concerning the Party's Present Policy* (January, 1948).

Our rule has made it possible for a large number of people to come to the forefront, and among them a large group of Kuomintang representatives.

From *Speech at a Meeting of the Central Group of the Working Session of the CPC Central Committee in Pehtaiho* (August 9, 1962).

The alliance of the workers and peasants which was formerly founded on the agrarian reform is eroding.

From *The Closing Speech at the Sixth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee of the Seventh Convocation* (October, 1955).

If the relations between the Party and the popular masses are not improved it will be impossible to build a socialist system; and even if this system is built, it will be impossible to consolidate it.

From the report *The Situation in the Summer of 1957* (July, 1957).

We have two alliances at present, one with the peasantry, and the other with the bourgeoisie. Both of these alliances are necessary in the conditions of China's economic backwardness.

From *The Closing Speech at the Sixth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee of the Seventh Convocation* (October, 1955).

We are now confronted by the question of the peasantry, a question on which it is necessary to show caution and discretion. . . .we are not very clear on this question. Because the peasants work all day long they can easily be regarded as workers and even considered to be above the latter. This would be a turn from right-wing to "left"-wing (deviation).

From *Speech at a Meeting in Chengchow* (November 10, 1958).

All people's communes and production teams must learn from the People's Liberation Army and implement political democracy, production democracy, financial and military democracy.

From the speech *Certain Questions that Have Arisen During the Movement for Socialist Education in the Village* (January 14, 1965).

At present the communes are extremely poor, and at this level we are economically poor and culturally backward. I consider this a positive phenomenon.

From *Speech at a Meeting in Chengchow* (November 10, 1958).

. . .The peasants have not yet achieved prosperity. There is no abundance of grain or industrial raw materials. The bourgeoisie still manages to find loopholes and attack our positions.

From *The Closing Speech at the Sixth Enlarged Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee of the Seventh Convocation* (October, 1955).

Bureaucratism, subjectivism and sectarianism have been observed in our work. We have too many people. Opinions clash. This accounts for the bureaucratism.

From *Speech at a Conference of Party Cadre Workers from Kiangsu and Anhwei Provinces and the Nanking Garrison on Ideological Work* (March 20, 1957).

VIII.
"It Is Easier for Dogmatists to Camouflage Themselves..."

Of the two types of subjectivism dogmatism presents the greater danger to our Party at the present moment. For it is easier for dogmatists to camouflage themselves as Marxists, to intimidate cadres from among the workers and peasants, make them their captives and draw them into their service. At the same time it is difficult for cadres from among workers and peasants to discern the true face of the dogmatists. Dogmatists know how to intimidate naive, inexperienced youths, who may also fall into their clutches.

From the speech *Improving the Style of Work in the Party* (February 1, 1942).

Has a situation been created in our Party in which another party exists outside the Party? In my opinion there is a party outside the Party, and there are groupings inside the Party.

From *Speech at the Closing of the Eleventh Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee of the Eighth Convocation* (August 12, 1966).

The bourgeoisie had educated us in conformity with its own interests; we came to study Marxism much later. This makes it extremely difficult to distinguish bourgeois ideology from the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie.

From *An Interview with Workers in Literature and Arts* (March 8, 1957).

Such a fundamental theory as Marxism was born in the West. Does this fact allow us to break it up into a Chinese and a Western Marxist theory? Is it possible that we might not accept it? The practical experience of the Chinese revolution has confirmed the fact that disregard of Marxism would be to our disadvantage. And there are no grounds for our disregarding it. In the past the Second International tried to reject and revise the basic tenets of Marxism and adduced certain arguments for such a rejection and revision, but all of them were refuted by Lenin. Marxism is a universal truth – it is true for all parts of the world, and we must master this truth.

From *An Interview with Music Workers* (August 24, 1956).

Are we right in thinking that the theoretical level we have reached in our study of the economy of China is sufficiently high? Are we right in thinking that our Party has more or less competent theorists in the sphere of economy? No, we are not.

From the speech *Improving the Style of Work in the Party* (February 1, 1942).

Although such a large political party as ours has achieved certain success in the study of the present domestic and world situation, the material we have

gathered on all spheres of domestic and international life: political, military, economic and cultural, is still fragmentary, and our research work lacks a systematic character.

From the report *Let Us Reorganize Our Training* (May, 1941).

We adhere to the theory of development of the revolution and not to the Trotskyite theory of "permanent" revolution.

From the speech *The Struggle to Draw Multimillion Masses into a United Anti-Japanese National Front* (May 7, 1937).

Things have come to such a state that one uncritically accepts erroneous views, views which do not originate among the people but are voiced by individuals. This means denying the leading role of the party and encouraging the practice of lagging behind events.

From the article *To Correct "Left"-Wing Deviation Mistakes in the Propaganda of the Agrarian Reform* (February, 1948).

We are against lagging behind events, but we are also against adventurism and rash action.

From the speech *The Struggle to Draw Multimillion Masses into a United Anti-Japanese National Front* (May 7, 1937).

There is no question that sectarian tendencies are still to be found among some of our comrades, and some of these tendencies have manifested themselves in a very serious form.

From the speech *Improving the Style of Work in the Party* (February 1, 1942).

Many comrades... having read a few Marxist books have not become more modest but have become even more conceited. They call others ignoramuses but do not realize that they themselves are under-educated.

From the speech *Improving the Style of Work in the Party* (February 1, 1942).

At present it is we, the laymen, who are guiding the specialists. We are exercising administrative and political leadership, but as for such concrete branches of science as geology, we understand nothing about them.

From *An Interview with Representatives of Press and Publishing House Workers* (March 10, 1957).

IX.
"We Have a Large Territory, Many People..."

In the matter of socialist construction we are still blind to a large extent.

From Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee (January 30, 1962).

As regards socialist construction, we still lack experience.

From Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee (January 30, 1962).

...We know extremely little about socialist construction. Within a certain period of time we shall have to gain experience, study diligently, gradually accumulate knowledge through practice in the field of socialist construction, understand its laws.

From Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee (January 30, 1962).

The level of mechanization in the country is very low. According to the latest statistics, one-third of all work done at Shanghai enterprises is mechanized,

another third is semi-mechanized and the remaining third is manual labour.

From the article *Notes on the Textbook "Political Economy"* (1960).

We have a large territory, many people. But how many automobiles, tanks and planes do we produce ourselves? One automobile and one plane. Is this not too little? Why should we put on airs?

From *Speech at a Conference Concerning the Intelligentsia, Called by the CPC Central Committee* (January 20, 1956).

In the War of Resistance against the Japanese invaders we need the help of other nations, of the peoples of the Soviet Union above all. And they will certainly help us for we are linked with them by the bonds of vital interests.

From the report *On the Tactics of Fighting Japanese Imperialism* (December 27, 1935).

The policy of developing the economy is a correct one, but this development should not be adventuristic, unrealistic.

From the report *Economic and Financial Questions in the Period of Resistance to Japan* (December, 1942).

We stand for traversing all the necessary stages in the development of a democratic republic and achieving socialism.

From the speech *The Struggle to Draw Multimillion Masses into a United Anti-Japanese National Front* (May 7, 1937).

. . .Hegemony of the proletariat in the political sphere, and the state and co-operative sectors in the nation's economy, guided by the proletariat, are the elements of socialism. The implementation of this programme, however, does not mean that Chinese society will become socialist.

From the report *About the Coalition Government* (April 24, 1945).

In order to build our state we need technical facilities, machines, and a good knowledge of science.

From *Speech at a Conference of Party Cadre Workers from Kiangsu and Anhwei Provinces and the Nanking Garrison on Ideological Work* (March 20, 1957).

X.
"In Order to Build Socialism..."

The education of the people is a long process. In matters of ideology one cannot resort to despotism, coercion and pressure. If you want to convince people, use words but do not apply pressure.

From *An Interview with Workers in Literature and Arts* (March 8, 1957).

In order to build socialism, the working class must have its own army of technical personnel, its own army of professors, teachers, scientists, journalists, literary workers, art critics and Marxist theorists. A vast army is needed, for a small number of people will not manage.

From the report *The Situation in the Summer of 1957* (July, 1957).

...The character of society is changing: from the old, capitalist society it is being transformed into a new, socialist society. Such is the path already traversed by the Soviet Union, a path which all other countries will inevitably follow.

From the article *Concerning Contradiction* (August, 1937).

As to our attitude to foreign culture, it would be a mistake to reject it out of hand. We should borrow as much as possible from progressive foreign culture

and use what we borrow for the development of a new culture for China.

From the report *About the Coalition Government* (April 24, 1945).

The new culture created in the USSR should serve us as a guide in the matter of building a national culture.

From the report *About the Coalition Government* (April 24, 1945).

China should assimilate more of progressive culture of other nations and use it as raw material for the enrichment of her own culture. The work in this field in the past was clearly insufficient.

What is meant is not only modern socialist and new democratic culture but also foreign culture of the past, such as, for instance, the culture of the period of Enlightenment in various capitalist countries.

From the article *About New Democracy* (January, 1940).

In all matters pertaining to science, ideology, one's inner life, such as religion, Marxism-Leninism, bourgeois or proletarian world outlook, the questions of culture, crude methods are impermissible.

From *Speech at a Conference of Cadre Workers in the City of Tientsin* (March 17, 1957).

In the past, at the time of the campaign to streamline the style of work, particularly when time was short, the methods of universal democracy were used in such a primitive and crude manner that many good people were harmed.

From *Closing Speech at the 2nd Plenary Meeting of the CPC Central Committee of the Eighth Convocation* (November, 1956).

In our view the intelligentsia is the most ignorant section of society.

From *Speech at the Conference of the Shanghai Public* (July 8, 1957).

...The ill treatment of the intelligentsia, the "left" deviation in the process of eradicating counter-revolution... the leftist military policy... the policy of severe reprimands in inner Party life, etc. This course is not only utterly inapplicable now... and it was incorrect in the past.

From the directive *Concerning Our Policy* (December 25, 1940).

...The comrades should know that now, in a period of transition, we cannot break with the intelligentsia, not even a little. Without the intelligentsia we would have no teachers, engineers, scientists; most of college and university professors and secondary and elementary school teachers belong to the intelligentsia; from it come most of our literature and art workers; we cannot do without it, without it we cannot make a step.

From *Speech at a Conference of Cadre Communist Workers of Shantung Provincial Organizations* (February, 1957).

It is necessary to drive actors, poets, and playwrights from towns and cities into the villages... If they do not join the masses, don't give them food. Feed only those who would go.

From *Talk on the Spring Holiday* (February 13, 1964).

To study two or three years – that's too long. A few months is enough.

From *Talk with a Delegation of the Palestine Liberation Organization* (March, 1965).

Today some writers dare not write for two reasons: first, we have not created the necessary conditions to enable the writers to write without fear, they are afraid of being castigated; secondly, they have not studied materialistic theory.

From *An Interview with Representatives of Press and Publishing House Workers* (March 10, 1957).

XI.
"A Specific Militarist Style..."

...A wrong approach is the overlooking of difficulties experienced by the people, the tendency to consider only the needs of the government and the army, in other words, an approach which calls for "draining the pond in order to catch the fish," an approach whereby excessive demands are made on the people again and again.

From the report *Economic and Financial Questions in the Period of Resistance to Japan* (December, 1942).

...The work of our comrades in the army is marked by a specific militarist style.

From the speech *Get Organized!* (November 29, 1943).

The army must show concern for the people, it should not harm its interests.

From the speech *Get Organized*! (November 29, 1943).

If we preserve such a cumbersome military organization in the future, we would only help our enemy in realizing his evil plans.

From the article *A Political Directive of Outstanding Importance* (September, 1942).

The army differs from the local bodies of power. It is not tied down to one place. When ordered to change quarters, it does so. Each province has its territorial bounds, which the army has not.

From *Instruction Concerning "Reliance on the Three" in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (April, 1967).

Many army cadres came to the army at an early age. They had not had much schooling and raised their cultural level in the army little by little. Ideologically, they are pretty naive.

From *Instruction Concerning the "Reliance on the Three" in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* (April, 1967).

The army must respect government and party bodies, it should not indulge in arbitrary acts.

From the speech *Get Organized!* (November 29, 1943).

XII.
"I Myself Am a Bourgeois Intellectual..."

I finished a "university in the open," but once I went to school. At first it was a Confucian school where I studied the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* for six years; at that time I greatly revered Confucius; then I attended a bourgeois school for seven years; in the bourgeois school they taught only bourgeois philosophy; at that period I held Kant in great respect and believed in dualism. At first I had a feudal ideology, then a bourgeois-democratic one...

From *Speech to Representatives of Philosophical Thought* (1964).

Who had ever thought of studying Marxism in the old days? Nobody had heard of it. We knew and read about Confucius, Napoleon, Washington, Peter the Great, Meiji's reforms and the three heroes of Italy.

From *Speech on Questions of Philosophy* (August 18, 1964).

I myself am a bourgeois intellectual; I studied in a bourgeois school with its bourgeois atmosphere, and the people there were interested in various

idealistic theories. I professed Kantian idealism. Will you call it petty bourgeois?

From *Speech at a Conference of Party Cadre Workers from Kiangsu and Anhwei Provinces and the Nanking Garrison on Ideological Work* (March 20, 1957).

I was a teacher in a primary school, who for some unknown reason was thrown into the revolution.

From *Talk with African and Asian Writers — Participants in the Symposium of African and Asian Literatures* (August 25, 1964).

When I joined the communist party I learned what the revolution was but did not know how to carry out a revolution. I knew that the revolution was spearheaded against the old society, against imperialism, but, then, I had a rather hazy idea of imperialism. I had spent thirteen years at school but my school knowledge was almost of no use to me in my practical work.

From *Speech to Representatives of Philosophical Thought* (1964).

. . . We were filled with a desire to make a revolution; for a long time, however, we had no clear idea, or rather, no absolutely clear idea, of how to make a revolution and against whom to fight, what to do first and what next.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee* (January 30, 1962).

If told that such and such a comrade, say, from the Central Committee, myself for example, had from the beginning fully understood the laws governing the Chinese revolution, that would be mere

bragging, don't believe it. It couldn't have been that way.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee* (January 30, 1962).

We have read many Marxist-Leninist works. But does it mean that we already have our own theoreticians? No, we can't say that.

From the speech *Improving the Style of Work in the Party* (February 1, 1942).

Economics remains for us an unknown kingdom of necessity in many respects. Take myself. I do not understand many things about economic development. I am not a great expert in industry or trade. I can find my bearings in agriculture somewhat, but also to a limited extent, that is to say, I know little about it.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee* (January 30, 1962).

I have not studied thoroughly all aspects of Marxism. And I know no foreign languages, by the way. As to economics, I have just made a start on it.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Session of the Military Council of the CPC Central Committee and the Conference on External Problems* (September 11, 1959).

We were not an imperialist power, but we didn't have an October revolution, so to begin with, we just can't throw our weight about. Later, when we will have learned something we can start throwing our weight about.

From *Speech at an Enlarged Meeting of the Politburo of the CPC Central Committee* (April, 1956).

Engels spoke of three laws but I do not believe in two of them (the basic law is unity of opposites, the transition of quantity into quality is the unity of opposites of quantity and quality, and negation of the negation is non-existent in general).

From Speech on Questions of Philosophy (August 18, 1964).

It is no good coming up with a "supreme commandment" each time one makes a speech, breaking one's long silence only to say something that admits no objection.

From Speech at a Conference in Nanning (January 12, 1958).

They say that China is peace-loving. This is not true. In fact, China likes a fight. Here am I, a Chinese, and I like to fight.

From An Interview with H. Kapa and B. Balluku (February 3, 1967).

It was I who lighted the fire of the cultural revolution.

From Speech at a Working Session of the CPC Central Committee (October 25, 1966).

Responsibility for the shortcomings and mistakes in our work for the last few years is to be borne primarily by the Central Committee; and in the Central Committee, I must bear the largest part of the blame.

From Speech at an Enlarged Working Session of the CPC Central Committee (January 30, 1962).

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